1: Raswan
●609

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For information concerning the relationship between the Arabs and the author, a European, see the complete text, category 116.]

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683 How my heart went out to the wild little creature!
609 He had such an air of aloofness and arrogance. Yet it would have been impossible to be angry with him. Was not his whole way of thinking different from a European's? Quite unintentionally he had the blood of his father's guest on his conscience, and he only thought of the satisfaction due to me, before the news of this accident could travel any further. How much blood was shed—in this case only a few drops—did not matter; the only thing that mattered was the unwritten Bedouin law that secures to the stranger absolute safety and inviolability, even in the tent of the humblest nomad. The blood-price of a guest is reckoned twice as high as that of a man killed in fight—fifty camels and four mares.

683 I had to smile when I thought of the value set on a
572 few drops of my blood. But outwardly I composed my face to due solemnity and, calling the other boys and some men, who had gathered round out of curiosity, as witnesses, I said to Amir Fuaz: "This has happened according to the will of Allah. I know no other price than thy friendship."

For a moment blank amazement! He stared at me wide-eyed. Probably Amir Fuaz could not yet believe it possible that I, a stranger, should invoke the ancient custom of his forefathers. Suddenly he flung away the fateful sling and advanced to me with outstretched arms, and with childish affection he clasped them round my neck as I bent down to him. In a wave of joyous love, I pressed the youngster to my breast and kissed him on both cheeks. With his little finger he lightly

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hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared; not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shepherds rode over to us with their women and children, scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home-pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian uplands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

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it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

The Lone Shepherdess

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desert, she set before us a bowl of fresh ewe's milk and, turning to me first, said: "Swear to thy sister that no harm will come to her." She gazed at me with large trustful eyes. Her white teeth flashed, and small dimples danced in her cheeks. Taking a dried twig from the brushwood pile by the fire, she held it out to me and said: "Take this in thy hand and swear by the life of the Lord, the giver of all life."

I quickly did her bidding and solemnly pledged the sanctity of her hospitality in the oath no child of the desert would break—an ancient Ishmaelite formula:

"In the name of God: as He took the life from this piece of dead wood, thus may the Lord take life from me if I do not honour and protect thy soul and thy body, O my sister!"

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After Faris, too, had taken this oath, she was encouraged to offer us the freedom of her "house" and spread before us all her store of food—bread, fresh milk, a little butter, and dried dates. While Faris and I were supping, she dragged up to the tent a lamb, bleating pitifully and struggling to get free. When I leaned down to hold the animal fast, the girl drew my dagger from my belt and cried: "Kill me this victim, so that I may cook it for thee."

I took the curved blade from her hand and set the frightened lamb free to skip back to the flock. But the maiden looked at me reproachfully.

"All that is needful for sustaining life," I said to her, "thou hast already given to the strangers. Allah is witness, we could not consume a whole lamb. Nor, indeed, can I see any vessel in which its meat could be cooked."

1 [A Bedouin Shepherdess 21 — Analyst]

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609 "But here," she said, "is a spit; on it I could roast the kidneys and loin pieces."

Fortunately the girl stood in such horror of killing the animal herself that Faris and I found it easy to convince her that the sacrifice was needless. All she feared was the reproach of her father for not according us Bedouin hospitality in full measure.

Without more words she sat down before the tent and made herself a small fire, that lit up her figure as she bent over it. The flickering light played over her comely face glistening with raindrops. She made a lovely picture of wild, unspoiled beauty and health.

When it became clear to us that the young shepherdess meant to pass the night unsheltered in the open and the rain, I urged her repeatedly not to be afraid and to share the tent with us. I even threatened that if she would not, Faris and I would ride on. But she did not take my threat seriously: she laughed and replied lightly that she could go to her father's tent and come back in the morning.

"Who is thy father?" Faris broke in.

"I am Tuëma, daughter of Sha'il ibn Surhan: and we pitch our tent with the *ashira* (clan) of the Freyje."

000 "Tuëma," said Faris coaxingly, "it is far to thy father's place and it is night. Do thou trust us and repose thyself here at our feet."

"Truly, I am not afraid," the girl said at last; "stay with me and do not ride on." She rose as she spoke, flung a handful of faggots on the fire, and waited for the flames to leap up. Then she straightened her magnificent young body to its full height and, slipping the cloak

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342 steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

574 On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent.
609 From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamin we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings.
[201] With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.
[352] The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

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I Meet My Blood Brother Again

All eyes were on the coffee-cook, who raked together 574
the smouldering embers on the hearth and added new 609
dried camel dung. On the silence soon fell the sound of [272]
boiling water bubbling in the capacious long-spouted pot.

The Amir's body-servant, Mnahi—the same who had spread the rug of greeting—took a stick of incense from a fold of his head-cloth, broke off a piece and placed it on a glowing dung-ember. Through the black roof-cloth filtered faintly the sunshine and wove a pattern of lights and shadows on the ground. Courtiers, warriors, and slaves formed a solemn, silent semicircle. Facing these squatting figures, Mnahi alone was on his feet; he had taken his post on his master's left and stood there, erect and motionless, one sinewy black fist on the silver hilt of his sword.

I stole surreptitious glances at my host. His *kaffiyah* framed an effeminate type of face, oval, with regular features and a high-bred, slightly aquiline nose. The dark eyes, brilliant and very large, were set beneath wide thick brows and a rather narrow forehead. When he smiled, dazzling white teeth showed under the small black moustache. The more I looked at this romantic young man, the more I recognized in him that spirited little blood-brother of mine in the long ago. It required an effort of will to restrain my impatience and not to declare myself forthwith; but I had to await the fitting moment. So far, no one had uttered a word. All seemed to be interested exclusively in the cook, still puttering about his hearth. In desert etiquette it is a gross breach [576]
of courtesy to ply a guest with questions about himself.

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At length, however, Fuaz gave me the longed-for opening; he turned to me suddenly and said: "Whencesoever thou comest, O stranger, be thou welcome here!"

"O Amir Fuaz," I replied, "stranger I can hardly be called among thy people. For once upon a time, in this very tent, I knew a boy, then little taller than the sword under thy slave's hand. And it came to pass one afternoon, when that boy and his playmates were shooting with the sling, that I, by the will of God, chanced to walk near; and a pebble flung by that child's hand struck me squarely between the eyes. Now, one might have said that Allah had marked my forehead with the *Nur-ed-Dam* (Seal of Blood). Therefore demanded I a great price for my blood."

Fuaz, who had listened with head inclined and lowered eyes, as if pondering, now raised them impetuously. For a moment he stared at me as in a trance. Then his face lit up; with a shout of joy he leapt to his feet, seized me by the shoulders, and strained me to his breast. "Aziz," he cried, using the Arab name bestowed on me by his tribe in the days of his childhood, "Aziz, thou art returned! *El-hamdu l'illah!*"

Again and again he kissed me on the cheeks and embraced me. "Now," he said, "do I understand the words I learned from my *mu'allim* (teacher): thou who followest with thy eye the flight of a bird or the course of the pebble flung from thy hand, what knowest thou of God's purposes?"

Yes, I had returned!

Once more I was with my Bedouins, to migrate again with their herds, to lie under their humped tent-roofs,

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these Ruala that thou hast actually accorded us thy protection that we might safely reach the grazing grounds of our friends. I shall ask him to permit thee and thy men this evening to camp in peace with the Ruala."

"Truly, thou lightest up my countenance," the Fid'an replied, overjoyed, "and I swear that I have now restored everything." To my amazement, I saw in his extended hand my costly compass, which I had supposed lost.

The Ruala, swaying on the backs of lean *dhaluls*, were drawing nearer. Well ahead of them galloped a horseman on a "red" (bay) mare, obviously their leader, and I cantered to meet him. He had his *kaffiyah* drawn over his face, so that when we met I could see only his eyes, and his voice came muffled: "Who art thou, rider on the 'blue' (grey) mare?"

For answer, I uncovered my face and said: "I yield myself to thee. And all these men"—pointing to Ali and the Fid'an—"I put under thy protection, O *Akid*, in the name of my brother and thy Amir, Fuaz."

The Rueyli drove his heels into his mare so that she plunged wildly and he had great difficulty in controlling her. He pulled down his *kaffiyah* and I was greatly astonished to see that it was Fuaz himself, but beside himself with rage. "Ride away, my brother," he said, "lest thy blood be answerable for my deeds. Like the panther, I winded these dogs of Fid'an that dare to yelp in the grazing grounds of the Ruala."

He was berserk, mad with the fighting frenzy of the Sha'lan. He tossed off his cloak, which caught on his mare's croup; he bared his arms and chest; he shifted his carbine from hand to hand, while his horse curvetted

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152 609 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to [577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place [576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

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manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey.

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhaluls*. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty.

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory.

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeẓ. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ğlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ğeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣîr lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḫr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḫr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḫr aṛlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḫr ağânib mâ lena w-lahom ğidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šab'ân 'ala-l-ǧê'ân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ǧê'ân w-lâ ta'tîh 'arijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-sema' w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭa'.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ 'abdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh ja'mal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *'aša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ṛada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 272 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesaḏḏemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

Fig. 22—A water trough, *ḥawḍ*, on a camel (see p. 71).

609 829 261

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellâḥîn* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 574 261 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert, *ješarreẓûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣaʿûf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿaššini jâ ḫajje ʿaššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 824 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*, bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Ramh alli baʿad habben sahih."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER IX

STRANGERS IN THE CAMP

NEIGHBORS OR ḴUṢARA'

In every Rwala camp there lives a member of another tribe who has left his kin for some reason and who, for a time at least, desires to make his home in a different territory. Such a stranger generally comes to an agreement with some Rwejli that they will be neighbors, *ḳuṣara* (sing., *ḳaṣîr*), and as such will protect each other. A Rwejli cannot be a *ḳaṣîr* to another Rwejli, but may have for a neighbor a member of some other Aneze tribe, whether friendly or hostile.

The Rwejli protects his *ḳaṣîr* against the Rwala and the *ḳaṣîr* does the same for the Rwejli against his own people. A *ḳaṣîr*, a guest, *ẓejf*, and a traveling companion, *ḫawi*, all of whom enjoy special privileges, are not subject to the ordinary regulations of the tribe. *lâ jemšûn al-ḥakk*. Their stick has as much force as another Bedouin's saber, *'aṣâhom sejf*. The *ḳaṣîr* is treated as a man possessed of power, *'azîz*, and justice is always done to him, *ḥakkeh ḥâṣel*. Even in cases where a Rwejli comes in conflict with a neighbor from elsewhere, the latter's Rwejli neighbor obtains, by force if necessary, a fair decision for him, or, as the saying is: "With a drawn saber and a swaying [balance of] justice, *bes-sejf aṭ-ṭâjel w-al-ḥakk l-mâjel*."

When a Rwejli has a claim against a *ḳaṣîr*, he may not make his demand himself but must put it in the hands of the stranger's Rwejli *ḳaṣîr*. If the claim dates back to the time before the stranger became the latter's neighbor, the usual answer is: "And why didst thou not seek thy rights before he was my neighbor? If thou couldst wait till today, wait now till he is my neighbor no more." A Rwejli may not be a *ḳaṣîr*. Yet should he do so and the judge, ignorant that the defendant is a *ḳaṣîr*, decide against him, the judgment never becomes valid. The Rwejli neighbor will say to the plaintiff: "What art thou doing? I am thy opponent, *ana edlmak laṭ-ṭalâjeb*, not my *ḳaṣîr*. Sue me, but my neighbor thou hadst better leave in peace!"

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If anything is stolen from a stranger *ḫaṣîr* by a Rwejli, he reports it at once to his native *ḫaṣîr*, who goes to the guilty person and speaks thus: "Doest thou not see that A is my *ḫaṣîr* and as dear to me as my own kin and all my tribesmen in this camp? *ḫaṣîri bên al-ʿanâja w-aṭ-ṭenâja.* Why didst thou take it from him?" And, seizing the stolen object, by force if necessary, he returns it to his *ḫaṣîr*.

Should a Rwejli assault the woman of a stranger *ḫaṣîr* in her tent, she shouts for the native *ḫaṣîr* to come to her assistance, which he is bound to do. If he kills the assaulter in his *ḫaṣîr's* tent he not only is not exposed to the blood vengeance, but the murdered man's kin, or, if he was not killed, the culprit himself, must pay the blood price for having insulted the tent of a neighbor.

But if the stranger *ḫaṣîr* kills a Rwejli he hastens to his native *ḫaṣîr's* tent with the entreaty: "Help me escape! *hazzemni.*" The latter instantly summons his kin, *ahl*: "I want to help my neighbor to escape," and they all must support him in this. Should the stranger *ḫaṣîr* express his willingness to pay the blood price, his native *ḫaṣîr* protects him until all is settled.

When a Rwala camp is attacked by the enemy and among other things the stranger *ḫaṣîr's* camels or mare are captured, it is the duty of his native *ḫaṣîr* to return to his stranger neighbor all that was stolen from him out of the booty taken by the Rwala in their next successful raid. The reward given to the raider is a she-camel for a mare and two *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80) for a she-camel.

In the same way the native neighbor is protected by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* against the latter's own tribe. Only when both tribes declare war on each other, in the course of which the stranger's property is captured, is the native *ḫaṣîr* absolved from helping him, unless he has made a prior agreement to do so. In this case he declares in the chief's tent:

"O you Rwala all! be my witnesses; thou too, Eben Šaʿlân! I and my neighbor here have bound ourselves by an agreement to protect each other in any event. His tribesmen will not eat from my property and I shall not eat from theirs. *Já rwala eshadû w-eshad ǧâ-ben šaʿlân tarâni maʿâǧifen ḫaṣîri flân al-flâni enni hom mâ ǧâkolîn ḥalâli w-ana mâ âkol ḥalâlhom.*" The same declaration is made by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* either in person or by a message in writing in the tent of the chief

2:Musil S-4,5 (no dat 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of his tribe. If then his tribesmen steal anything from his native *ḫaṣîr* they must return it, and vice versa. 609 572

When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli to herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is attacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to keep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two for milking, *ḫa'ada w-menâjeḥeḥ* or *rukûba w-ḥalûba.* 672

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant called a Kubejsi (pl. Kubejsât), although he does not always hail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hit on the right bank of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two camels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with a Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round white tent, *ḫejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's shirts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other articles of clothing, *bzâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *hejl* (cardamom), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where he boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets nothing at all. 443

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, paying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, presses his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes him. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to lose anything; for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled to do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant dunning unbearable. It is said: 426 452

Mâ ḥamm illa ḥamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeg*, on borrowed money must be paid at once in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧîdijjât* ($9.00), 2½ *meǧîdijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the borrower has to declare that he has borrowed 12½ *meǧîdijjât*, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is 7½ *meǧîdijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. The wandering dervishes come from China, India, and Persia to Irak, where they join the moving clans or the pilgrims, so that they may reach al-Medîna or Mecca. The Bedouins look after them, passing them on from tribe to tribe, but the pilgrims pay no attention to them. If a dervish is stricken with disease, they leave him lying on the camping ground without any scruples as to his fate, which is usually death. 2. *Walad al-ḥalâl* is an honest, godly man. 4. *Musfehel* has the same meaning as *mukajjef*, in good spirits, happy. 6. *Ṭwârîš* or *'alâjem* are symptoms of disease.

539x 609

RIDDLES

The Rwala love to solve riddles, *ḥabâwa*, clothing them always in poetical garb. The following were told me by Ġwâd al-'Ânî the third one having been known also to Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

539x 524

Anšedk 'an saba' masmijjât
lâ jetîhen w-lâ jebîhen 'atîžât ǧedîdât
kill men miša' miša' bihen alli ḥajj w-alli mât.

I ask thee for seven already named:
They err not, cannot be forgotten, are both old and new,
Whoever walks in them walks in life and in death.

Answer: *Sbû'*, the seven days of the week.

Anšedk 'an ḫamsen ǧill
lâ hen ḥejl w-lâ hen bil
eṭnên bišams w-ṭalâṭen bẓill.

About the important five I ask thee —
It is not horses, not camels;
Two are in the sun and three in the shade.

Answer: *Ṣalawât*, the five prescribed prayers.

Anšedk 'an ši'en salla-l-ḥejl w-an-nûk
w-kill al-bwâdi bil-maḥabbe sallâha
teḍḥak leh al-bîẓ al-'aḏâra
saḥaf rowk jarmi ḫarânîṣ al-ḫafa' min samâha.

For a thing that rejoices mares and she-camels I ask thee —
That cheers the whole desert with love;

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaktolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
● 609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh židdâm rukubteh*."

577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*,
672 *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḫallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḏḫalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSPITALITY

SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâme*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *mâḫûḏ*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tarâkom mwaṣṣedîn w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwaṣṣed*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḳawwi* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ ḥala*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jesallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

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"May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh je'âfik.*"
"How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"
"May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh je'âfik w-jesallem ṭâlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[203] It takes some time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-ma'âzîb.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terawwehûnahom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teszûn al-ʿaṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ ʿendana maʾ*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *taṭwiḥ*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *rana' b'âli hesseh*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

574 sive or that he contradicts himself, he declares: "By Allâh! we do not trust thee. Say who knows thee! *W-allâh mâ ḥenna meṣaddežînak hât alli 'ârefk.*"

●[609] If nobody is found in the camp to vouch for the newcomer, he must leave at once, either on foot or on his animal. The host fears that he may be a robber who will steal from him or his guests at night and then disappear. This caution [672] is due to the fact that the host is responsible for any deed his guest may commit while on his grounds.

A common guest addresses the chief with the title: "O thou long living! O thou who art protected from evil! *jâ ṭwîl al-'omr jâ mḥafûẓ.*"

Sometimes a guest arrives just when there is no flour, wheat, or *tummen* (a kind of rice) in the tent. The owner with his whole family may have been living for weeks on milk alone, but the guest must receive something better. In such a case the wife goes from tent to tent, begging: "We have received a guest and we are out of food. O friends, we have nothing to set before him; lend us something so that we can do our duty. *Ḥenna mežâfîr w-enzefna jâ rab' w-ḥenna-kfarna min aṭ-ṭa'âm ekrezowna šien* [sic] *nesteter beh.*" The neighbors help her to the best of their ability — one lending a little flour, another some *tummen* or some butter, and there are also tents where she is told: "Come to us today and thou wilt get the supper thou needest for thy guest."

574 264 If the guest arrives in the forenoon, he gets both dinner and supper, *ġada w-'aša*. The meals are brought either by the host himself or his son or are served by a slave, with the host urging: "Hasten to thy luck, O guest of the Most Gracious! Eat! May Allâh preserve thee!" A prominent guest either eats alone or invites the host or some chief who is present to eat with him.

A common guest eats with the others, the host, however, deciding the order of those who are to sit together. When the dish is already surrounded by six or eight persons and the host notices one more he wishes to invite, he asks: "If you can find a gap between you, invite also So-and-So! *en čân 'endkom ṭenijje 'azzemow flân.*"

"The place is large! Come hither, O So-and-So! *al-maṭraḥ wasî' ḳum ǧâj jâ flân.*"

Coughing or sneezing during the meal is to be avoided. He who has finished eating licks his fingers clean, drops his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḥel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḥ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḥ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḥwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḥi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḥa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḥu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdîše*. 14. *Flân meḍhabeh* (pl., *meḍâheb*) *ẓajjeż*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeż*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.